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789 273 is ceremonially served to each adult in a prescribed order. When it is all consumed, families who have their own ollas invite their friends to join them and all reach a stage of mild intoxication. Many fall asleep. Sooner or later the rain comes—many individuals tell of having been caught in a heavy rain on the way home from a ceremony.

[184] The wine ceremonies are still general over the Reservation, with the exception of the two conservative western districts, where the custom lapsed twenty years ago. This apparent paradox may result from the fact that most of the present western villages were settled within the last two decades from mountain villages which no longer exist. Perhaps the old ceremonies disappeared with these villages.[1] Or perhaps they were discontinued during the quarrels over cattle and white administrative policy that divided the westerners for years. However, in the area around Gu Achi many old ceremonies are said to flourish.

The persistence of the wine ceremony in most parts of the Reservation shows its importance to the majority of the Papago today. Only the Presbyterians refuse to attend. Probably their overt expression would be that "those people over there" believe in such things but good Presbyterians do not; but what many of them really feel may be something different. Their profession of disapproval is a source of sorrow to the believers, but it does not, they feel, lessen the efficacy of the ceremony.

It should be noted that drunkenness is not the objective of the wine ceremony. It is a means to an end—to bring the longed-for rain that will make the fields green and bring food to the Desert People. The Papago feel that the wine brings happiness and song; it is a symbol of the renewal of life with the coming of rain and it is a purification of the mind and heart. The ceremony has a social function of erasing the evil and ill feeling of the past year. The speeches that precede the serving of the wine deal with proper behavior, stressing the old Papago virtues, peacefulness and harmony. It is these things which the ceremonial drunkenness is meant to bring.

● 733 Of late years other forms of drinking have increased tremendously over the Reservation. At the fiestas there is a good deal of drunkenness which sometimes leads to violence, and there is much drinking which is unconnected with any ceremony. The Papago themselves see the problem and are greatly concerned about it. Women and particularly children are afraid of drunkards and are deeply distressed when the men begin heavy and continuous drinking (see chap. xiv). The women do not mind the drinking itself; what troubles them is that it is done in the wrong spirit. Drinking should bring happiness

1. At one of the modern Hickiwan villages a round house was built about 1941 and wine is made each year, but there is no accompanying ceremony.

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and singing, as it does in the wine ceremony, not cruelty and fighting. Women say that they sometimes talk to their husbands but that "they don't pay any attention." Others simply leave home until their husbands sober up. Religious sanctions lessen drunkenness among the Presbyterians, but the group is small.

The Papago lay part of the blame on the federal law which forbids the sale of liquor to Indians; they say that forbidding the possession of something is a challenge. Whether or not this contention is justified, the real difficulty with drunkenness has coincided with the period of accelerated acculturation and particularly with the transfer from a barter to a cash economy. Illicit liquor is easily acquired when one has money, and with the prevalence of wage work almost every Papago man has cash. Possibly the speed of acculturation has brought with it conflicts and maladjustment for which compensation is sought in drinking. The disappearance of the old village games and races, which used up much surplus energy and sometimes required arduous training, may also have brought about recourse to other forms of stimulation and excitement. The problem remains difficult and pressing, for no adequate solution has been found.

CURING SICKNESS AND COUNTERACTING MISFORTUNE

In an environment which requires constant and hard labor, sickness might well be one of the most dreaded misfortunes. This attitude has probably been reinforced by the grave health problems of the Papago (see chap. vii).

The Desert People believe that sickness and other misfortunes come from offending one of the many supernatural forces which menace humans. From early childhood they are taught what to do and what not to do in order to maintain the right relationships with these forces.

Certain rites must be performed for every individual: if a baby is not taken to a medicine man a month or so after birth, he may fall sick or die. If he does undergo the proper rite (see chap. viii), he will be healthy, a good worker, and a swift runner. The girl who does not consult the medicine man at her first menstruation may be consumed by fire and may bring misfortune to all her relatives (see chap. x). Even some of the Presbyterian Papago feel uneasy unless this ceremony is performed.

Dead persons are potential threats to health and good fortune, and care is taken to avoid offending them lest their ghosts return to bring sickness upon their living relations. Until about thirty years ago the Papago buried their dead in little stone replicas of houses on a hill near each village. Personal property was buried with the corpse—a man's saddles and bridle, his tools and clothing, and any ceremonial paraphernalia he might have; the baskets a

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Jesuits, the date of the pilgrimage was shifted to the feast day of St. Francis of Assisi, patron of the Franciscans, October 4.[10]

The change in the identity of the saint made no difference to the faithful. San Francisco Xavier is their saint, who watches over them and helps to bring rain to the desert. Pictures of the saint lying upon his tomb crowd the walls of their little churches and the altars in their homes. Underhill remarks the sharp contrast between this "cult of a dead man" and the Papago fear of the dead. She believes it quite possible that the Papago do not realize that the picture represents a sarcophagus; for, when the Papago buy a waxen image of San Francisco, they dress it in a silk nightshirt and lay it in a doll bed. "When asked why the saint is in bed, they are vague. He is a white supernatural, and that is his way. They cannot tell why he performs his miracles lying down, but they know he performs them."[11]

The annual pilgrimage to honor San Francisco is the greatest event of the year for many a Papago family. For weeks ahead of time talk is of nothing else. A cattle roundup and sale are held in September to procure enough food, clothing, and supplies for the two-hundred-and-fifty-mile journey and the week spent in Magdalena. The family *santos* must be packed carefully, so that they, too, can be taken to receive the blessing of the saint. At last the family sets out by wagon, truck, or car, sleeping by the road at night.

In Magdalena they camp together with other Papago families in a large open field on the edge of town. Every day they go to market in one of the two central plazas, where there are row on row of little booths, with fruits and candies, bakery goods, bright-colored clothing, knickknacks, and sacred objects for sale. The adults buy clothing and household equipment for the coming year and gifts for everyone at home, while the children wander about the plaza, gazing at the booths, spending a few nickels a day for sweets or occasionally riding the merry-go-round.

Menfolk are likely to be found in the bars around the second plaza, since in Mexico they can get all the liquor they can pay for. Women worry because their men get drunk and lose all their money to the Mexicans or are jailed for creating a disturbance. A loud-speaker blares out the names of those who have been arrested, and their wives obtain their release by paying a fine.

At least once during the week the mother (and perhaps the father) takes the children into the church to touch the image of St. Francis. New *santos* and bright ribbons bought at the shops outside, and the *santos* from home, are

10. At the mission of San Xavier del Bac near Tucson, also founded by Kino and later rebuilt by the Franciscans, the great celebration of the year is still on December 3, the day of the Jesuit saint.
11. Ruth Underhill, "Autobiography of a Papago Woman" (148), p. 31.

[Text continues on p. 88-Analyst]

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511 But those few hours are enough for the Papagos to spend about half their wages. During the war it was estimated $40 of every $100 they received from labor, cattle, and produce went immediately to business men operating outside the reserves.[1] With the boom in cotton, and the boom for Papago pickers, probably even more is spent off the reserves today.

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484 Most farmers who send a truck in to town with a load of Indians seem to have learned they have fewer problems with drunkenness if the trucks return to the labor camps before dinner. The time the Desert People spend in town now is considerably less than it was a few years ago, when the streets were filled with Papagos long after dark. Then on Monday morning farmers went to city halls in numbers to find some of their laborers and pay their "$10 or 10 day" fines so they could go back to work.

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(133) Drinking is still the main sin Anglo employers hold against Papago farm workers, as well as the number one social problem among the Desert People. As a farmer near Stanfield observed, "There's nothing more useless than a drunk Indian." It is the exceptional cotton farmer who can say of his Papagos they "drink less and are less trouble--the whites drink more." Most farmers would agree with a foreman who said that the Papagos in his camp "all drink, but very few get wild." Some growers control this problem by firing those of the Desert People unable to restrict their tippling to week ends in town. Cotton farmers often bail out good workers rather than lose their services for 10 days to the city. All over the irrigated valleys where Papagos work, bootlegging to Indians is an acute problem.

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(439) So widespread is drinking among the Desert People in labor camps that it appears to be one big attraction to Papagos to leave their reserves to work. Liquor is much more easily obtained in labor camps and trading towns than on isolated reserves. Friendly or profiteering Anglos, Negros and Mexican-Americans willing to sell a bottle to a thirsty Indian are relatively abundant around camps and towns. And enforcement of laws prohibiting liquor to Indians is especially difficult outside reserves. One isolated rural store, at

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[1]Program, Papago Reservation, 1944, p. 43.